

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 147452 TOSEC 070038
ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 PRS-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:BDSHANKS

APPROVED BY PA/M:CWFREEMAN,JR.

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UNCLAS STATE 147452 TOSEC 070038

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT BERNARD WEINRAUB FRONT PAGE
BY-LINER NEW YORK TIMES FRIDAY JUNE 24 HEADED "US STUDY
SEES PERIL IN SELLING ARMS TO CHINA".

2. WASHINGTON, JUNE 23--A MAJOR POLICY REVIEW IN THE
CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS CONCLUDED THAT THE SALE OF
UNITED STATES MILITARY TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA WOULD LEAD TO
A "FUNDAMENTAL REASSESSMENT" OF SOVIET POLICIES TOWARD
THE UNITED STATES AND AN INCREASE OF TENSION BETWEEN
MOSCOW AND PEKING.

3. THE POLICY PAPER--ONE OF THE MORE CLOSELY HELD
DOCUMENTS IN THE ADMINISTRATION--MAKES IT PLAIN THAT
EFFORTS TO SEND AMERICAN DEFENSE TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA
WOULD "STIFFEN SOVIET POSITIONS, TOWARD THE UNITED
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STATES AND RESULT IN ASHARP DETERIORATION OF AMERICAN-SOVIET TIES.

4. THIS WARNING ABOUT AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS BECAME KNOWN AS THE ADMINISTRATION BARRED AN AMERICAN COMPANY FROM SELLING AN ADVANCED COMPUTER SYSTEM TO THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE, IT SAID, THE SYSTEM COULD BE USED FOR

MILITARY PURPOSES.

5. THE PAPER, POLICY REVIEW MEMORANDUM NO. 24, HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF INTENSE DEBATE AND SOME FRICTION IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. SOME KEY FIGURES INVOLVED IN THE STUDY ARE KNOWN TO DISAGREE SERIOUSLY WITH THE POSITION OF THE DOCUMENT--WHICH ESSENTIALLY OPPOSES THE SALE OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA--AND CONTEND THAT THE PAPER FAILS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POTENTIAL DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGES THAT COULD BE GAINED BY THE UNITED STATES IN TERMS OF THE SOVIET UNION IF THE UNITED STATES SELLS MILITARY ITEMS IN CHINA.

6. WHAT WAS DISCUSSED IN THE HIGH-LEVEL POLICY WORKING GROUP--AND THEN OMITTED IN THE DOCUMENT--IS THE USE OF THE SO-CALLED "CHINA CARD" STRATEGY ADVOCATED BY SOME CHINA SPECIALISTS. THIS STRATEGY SEEKS TO ACCELERATE DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY LINKS TO CHINA IN ORDER TO USE CHINA TO OFFSET SOVIET POWER AND GAIN SOME LEVERAGE OVER MOSCOW IN STRATEGIC-ARMS TALKS.

7. WHILE BOTH THE CHINESE AND THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATION ON MILITARY MATTERS, THE QUESTION OF THE SALE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT OR STRATEGIC TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA HAS BEEN EXPLORED QUIETLY IN RECENT YEARS. ARTICLES UNCLASSIFIED

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IN THE CHINESE PRESS, INVITATIONS TO CONGRESSMEN WHOSE RESPONSIBILITIES EMBRACE MILITARY AFFAIRS, THE VISIT OF FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES R. SCHLESINGER AND CHINESE MILITARY PURCHASES IN BRITAIN, WEST GERMANY AND FRANCE HAVE INDICATED THAT CHINA WAS SEEKING SOME FORM OF MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST.

8. AMONG THE ITEMS THAT THE CHINESE REPORTEDLY ARE SEEKING IN THE WEST ARE COMPUTERS, COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT, NUCLEAR REACTORS, LASER RANGE FINDERS, AIR-CRAFT, HELICOPTERS AND ANTITANK MISSILES.

9. THE ISSUE HAD REACHED A POINT WHERE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FELT COMPELLED TO DRAFT A POLICY ON MILITARY LINKS TO CHINA AND TO WEIGH THE POLICY IN TERMS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

10. THE CURRENT REPORT WAS WORKED OUT BY SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE PENTAGON, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY. IT WILL SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A POLICY-MAKING PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW MEMORANDUM, AFTER DISCUSSIONS IN THE

NEXT FEW WEEKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT CARTER, DEFENSE

SECRETARY HAROLD BROWN, SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE, AND ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISER ON NATIONAL SECURITY.

11. THE DOCUMENT, STAMPED SECRET, WAS MADE AVAILABLE TODAY TO THE NEW YORK TIMES. IT IS DIVIDED INTO THREE SECTIONS: THE "BROAD OPTIONS," OF CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM TAIWAN AND THE "SALE OF DEFENSE-RELATED TECHNOLOGY."

12. DISCUSSING THE "RANGE OF SOVIET REACTIONS" TO A POTENTIAL TRANSFER OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAPER SAYS:

13. "SOVIET REACTIONS TO A US DECISION TO FACILITATE TRANSFERS OF MILITARY-RELATED MATERIAL TO THE PRC WOULD RANGE FROM INTENSE LOBBYING TO REVERSE THE DECISION TO A SERIOUS RETHINKING OF FUNDAMENTAL SOVIET POLICIES TOWARD THE US.

14. "AT THE MILD END OF THE SPECTRUM, SOVIET OFFICIALS WOULD CERTAINLY MAKE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS TO GET THE DECISION REVERSED ON THE GROUNDS THAT CHINA IS A DANGEROUS AND UNSTABLE COUNTRY AND THAT MOSCOW REGARDS THIS SORT OF ASSISTANCE AS ANTI-SOVIET. SUCH EFFORTS COULD WELL BE ACCCOMPANIED BY A LESS COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON VARIOUS ISSUES.

15. "THE SEVERITY OF SOVIET REACTIONS WOULD INCREASE WITH THE PERCEIVED THREAT TO SOVIET INTERESTS. AT SOME UNDEFINED POINT, SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF THE THREAT OF US-CHINESE MILITARY COLLABORATION WOULD STIFFEN SOVIET POSITIONS ON EVEN THE MAJOR ISSUES OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS SUCH AS SALT, ESPECIALLY IF INITIAL SOVIET EFFORTS TO REVERSE THE TREND HAD FAILED. THE SOVIETS MIGHT ALSO INCREASE TENSIONS WITH CHINA."

16. THE DOCUMENT ADDS: "SINCE THE DESIRE TO HEAD OFF CHINESE-WESTERN COLLABORATION WAS A MAJOR IMPETUS TO THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP'S POLICY OF DETENTE, THERE IS PRESUMABLY A POINT AT WHICH THE PRESENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP OR ITS SUCCESSORS WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THIS POLICY IS NOT ACHIEVING THE DESIRED OBJECTIVE.

17. "DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES FOR OTHER SOVIET
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OBJECTIVES, MOSCOW WOULD THEN BE COMPELLED TO MAKE A FUNDAMENTAL REASSESSMENT OF ITS POLICIES TOWARD THE US. THE LIKELIHOOD OF A STRONG SOVIET REACTION TO A RELAXATION OF US POLICY ON DEFENSE-RELATED TRANSFERS TO CHINA

IS FURTHER DEMONSTRATED BY THE AUTHORITATIVE MAY 14 PRAVDA ARTICLE BY I. ALEKSANDROV WHICH DENOUNCES CHINESE MILITARISM AND WARNS THE WEST AGAINST DIVERTING CHINESE EXPANSION TOWARD OTHERS.

18. "THIS ARTICLE CLEARLY INDICATES THE END OF POST-MAO EFFORTS TO EASE TENSIONS WITH CHINA AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW SOVIET CAMPAIGN TO RAISE THE WORLD'S AWARENESS OF AND RESISTENCE TO THE CHINESE MILITARY THREAT."

19. THE NAME I. ALEKSANDROV IS A PSEUDONYM USED IN THE SOVIET PRESS FOR ARTICLES REFLECTING TOP OFFICIAL THINKING.

20. ONE PARTICIPANT INVOLVED IN THE STUDY SAID THAT THERE WAS SOME DISENCHANTMENT AMONG SEVERAL PANEL MEMBERS WHO FAVOR THE SALE OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA, LARGEMLY BECAUSE THE WORDING OF THE DOCUMENT FAILED TO MENTION OPTIONS THAT WOULD WORK TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IF CHINA OBTAINED AMERICAN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY.

21. MOREOVER, THE SOURCE ASSERTED, MR. BRZEZINSKI SAID RECENTLY THAT THE SALE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO CHINA WAS "AN IMMEDIATE POLICY QUESTION," A COMMENT THAT WENT BEYOND EARLIER STATEMENTS ON THE ISSUE BY POLICY-MAKERS AND BUOYED THE SUPPORTERS OF A MILITARY TECHNOLOGY ARRANGEMENT WITH CHINA.

22. ALTHOUGH THE DEGREE OF OPPOSITION TO SUCH AN UNCLASSIFIED

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ARRANGEMENT DIFFERS IN THE ADMINISTRATION, THE SOURCE INVOLVED IN THE STUDY LISTED THE FOLLOWING FIGURES IN THE WORKING GROUP AS GENERALLY CARRYING THE DAY: WILLIAM H. GLEYSTEEN, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS; ALAN ROMBERG OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT POLICY PLANNING STAFF; HARRY E. T. THAYER, HEAD OF THE CHINA DESK AT THE

STATE DEPARTMENT, AND KEY OFFICIALS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S SOVIET DESK.

23. AMONG THE OFFICIALS SUPPORTING SOME FORM OF MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA WERE JAMES R. LILLEY, NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICER FOR CHINA FOR THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; MORTON I. ABRAMOWITZ, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, AND RICHARD SOLOMON, A NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL CONSULTANT. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, ARMS, MILITARY SALES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: BDSHANKS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770226-1110
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770622/aaaaasse.tel
Line Count: 235
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8a754977-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2043698
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, MASS, US, CH, NEW YORK TIMES, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (WEINRAUB, BERNARD)
To: SECRETARY AIRCRAFT
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8a754977-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009